DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 309 484 CS 506 734

AUTHOR Langmeyer, Lynn
TITLE Gender Stereotypes in Advertising: A Critical Review.
PUB DATE Mar 89
NOTE 15p.; Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Southeastern Psychological Association (35th, Washington, DC, March 22-25, 1989).
PUB TYPE Speeches/Conference Papers (150) -- Information Analyses (070)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Advertising; Literature Reviews; *Marketing; Mass Media Use; *Media Research; Research Problems; Sex Differences; *Sex Role; *Sex Stereotypes
IDENTIFIERS Advertisements; Market Research; Print Media

ABSTRACT

Television and television advertising, because of their pervasiveness and intrusiveness, have been identified by many as potent, formative, and usually negative influences within our culture. Print media, including magazine advertising, although perhaps less potent, are perceived as equally important. The effects of gender portrayals on audiences are a major concern to advertising and marketing researchers because there is an assumption that negative reactions to portrayals are related to negative consumption attitudes and behavior. A review of the literature shows that researchers, however, have been very slow to tackle the question of effects and consequences, and research objectives have centered on the identification and examination of role portrayals. Gender role research tends to be nose-counting and when it is not, results are contradictory and generally confined to narrow considerations. Despite the definitional, procedural, analytical, and conceptual problems associated with this research, the presence of advertising stereotypes can be clearly demonstrated. It is time to move on to the question of "effects," regardless of the difficulties likely to be encountered. (Fifty-four references are attached.) (MS)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED309484

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Lynn Langmeyer

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

GENDER STEREOTYPES IN ADVERTISING: A CRITICAL REVIEW

Paper presented at the
SOUTHEASTERN PSYCHOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION
35th annual meeting
March 22-25, 1989, Washington, D.C.

DR. LYNN LANGMEYER
Department of Management/
Marketing/Aviation
Northern Kentucky University
Highland Heights, KY 41076
(606)572-5363

CS506734

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

STEREOTYPES IN ADVERTISING: A CRITICAL REVIEW

ABSTRACT

This paper is a review of selected research in gender role portrayals, the selections representing "typical" role portrayal studies. (Although the focus of the review is on advertising portrayals, non-advertising studies are included because they provide the conceptual and methodological bases for the research.) The review indicates that stereotypical gender role portrayals dominate and that researchers, with few exceptions, have focused on the extent and types of stereotypic role portrayals in advertising rather than on their effects and consequences. The review identifies several problems which need to be addressed so that the research stream can continue to grow and develop, and then considers possible future directions for advertising role portrayal investigations.

Introduction

It is widely accepted that the mass media, as an extrafamilial influence, plays a significant role in the socialization process by providing visual symbolic models for learning how to behave (e.g., Bandura 1969; Baumrind 1980; Comstock 1975; Comstock 1980; Comstock and Fisher 1975; Dimas 1970; Korzenny and Neuendorf 1980; Reid 1979). Television and television advertising, because of their pervasiveness and intrusiveness, have been identified by many as potent, formative and usually negative influences within our culture (e.g., Churchill and Moschis 1979; Comstock 1980; Gerbner and Signorielli 1979; Pollay 1986; Roberts and Bachen 1981; Rubin 1982; Rubinstein 1985; Seiter 1986). Print media, including magazine advertising, although perhaps less potent, are perceived as equally important.

The effects of gender portrayals on audiences are a major concern to advertising and marketing researchers because there is an assumption that negative reactions to portrayals are related to negative consumption attitudes and behavior. Researchers, however, have been very slow to tackle the question of effects and research objectives have centered on the identification and examination of role portrayals. Content analysis, which

has predominated as the appropriate research tool, has been carefully considered in other reviews (Kassarjian 1977; please see Czepiec and Kelly 1983 for a recent review of the technique).

This review, which is not intended to be exhaustive, and is designed to capture the "flavor" of the typical investigation, will first summarize the past forty years of content analysis of advertising and establish the ubiquitous presence of gender stereotypes. Problems of definition, procedure, analysis and theory, some concerned with technique and others with broader conceptual issues, will then be identified and discusses. Finally, suggestions for future directions for advertising stereotype research will be considered.

Research Summary

The research on gender portrayals spans a relatively short period of time and a wide range of focus. For example: gender stereotypes have been studied in cartoons (Levinson 1973; Matacin and Burger 1987); in children's advertising and programming (Kolbe 1988; Macklin and Kolbe 1984; Sternglanz and Serbin 1974); in newscasting (Gebhardt and Harless 1986; Silverman et. al. 1986); in television and magazine advertising (a small sample includes: Belkoui and Belkoui 1976; England and Gardner 1983; Hollingshead and Ingersoll 1978; Levinson 1973; Lunstrom and Sciglimpaglia 1977; Lysonski 1983; McArthur and Resko 1975; Venkatesan and Losco 1975); in relation to physical attractiveness in advertising (Downs and Harrison 1983; Gagnard 1986; Mori et. al. 1987); in relation to self-monitoring theory (Schmitt et. al. 1988) and in relation to scores on Bem's Sex Role Inventory (Kolbe 1988).

The studies of the early 70's, motivated to some extent by the feminist movement, concentrated on identifying feminine gender role stereotypes and demonstrating increases or decreases in their occurrence over a period of time. For instance in 1975, Venkatesan and

Losco reported that the portrayal of women as sex objects had decreased since 1961 however other stereotypes were still prevalent; in 1979, Schneider and Schneider reported that there had been improvements in the role portrayals of women compared to 1971 and 1976 however women were still portrayed more narrowly than men. McArthur and Resko demonstrated significant sex differences in television advertisements in 1975 as did Scheibe in 1979 however Scheibe reported that some commercials had begun showing new and different roles for men and women.

New studies, such as Kolbe's (1988) and Soley and Kurzberd's (1986), periodically update these comparisons and the findings suggest that the portrayal of women in advertising, especially advertising created for television, has not come very far. In addition, portrayal of women in advertising seems to have elicited less concern from a narrower audience, than the portrayal of blacks, Hispanics or the elderly.

England and Gardner (1983) and Kolbe (1988), although concentrating on identifying sex differences in role portrayals, incorporate atypical approaches to gender stereotype research. England and Gardner use a log linear model to demonstrate sex differences in age portrayal, occupation and activity portrayal, and product use. Kolbe uses Bem's Sex Role Inventory to demonstrate sex differences in children's Saturday morning television commercials. Theoretical discussions of self-monitoring theory (Snyder and DeBono 1985) and gender schema theory (Schmitt et. al., 1988) suggest that both concepts may have potential for stereotype research.

Investigation of the effects of stereotypical gender role portrayals has not been totally ignored. For example: Duker and Tucker (1977) found that feminist beliefs of women did not significantly affect their regard for the roles assigned to women in advertising. Sciglimpaglia et. al. (1979) found that negative perceptions of women's role

portrayals had no effect on purchase decision of the product and some effect on the company's image. Kilbourne(1986), however, found that positive/negative sex role portrayals in advertisements had a positive/negative effect on evaluation of advertisements; Eisenstock (1984) found that television has the potential to be a transmitter of new sex role ideals for men and women; and Whipple and Courtney (1985) found that no one gender role portrayal is judged consistently best across all products; advertisers need to take into account model gender-product image congruence.

On a less optimistic note, Itzin (1986), with little empirical support, maintains that "age and sex stereotypes (in media) work together constructing the oppression of women" (p.129). It is Itzin's idea of "effects" that critics of sex role stereotyping in advertising have in mind, and it is Itzin's idea of "effects" that have not been investigated. It has not been conclusively demonstrated that negative gender stereotypes in media have a negative effect on attitudes and behavior.

To summarize: gender role research tends to be nose-counting and when it isn't, results contradictory and generally confined to narrow considerations. Effects Research on behavioral and attitudinal effects is minimal.

Problems

The results in gender portrayal research, as indicated in the Area Summary section of this paper, are inconsistent, equivocal and difficult to generalize. This section of the paper will discuss briefly typical research problems due to methodological and conceptual difficulties.

One problem is inconsistent and inadequate defintions of negative gender role stereotypes. Definitions may be determined a priori by researchers (e.g., Itzin 1986), a posteriori by male content analysts (e.g., Soley and Kurzbard 1986), a posteriori by female

content analysts (e.g., Gagnard 1986) or perhaps, not at all and assumed to be "intuitively obvious."

An unanticipated problem of generating consistent definitions of role stereotypes is discussed by Langmeyer (1984), in the context of age stereotypes, however equally applicable to gender stereotypes: that is, non-member definitions and member definitions frequently differ. A similar problem is the use of nonrepresentative respondents to evaluate the extent of negative portrayals. Although appropriate for exploratory studies, results from such samples are narrowly generalizable and lack external validity.

A final "definitional" problem is the lack of consistency across content analysis sources. It is difficult to compare study results longitudinally or, for that matter, on any dimension, when the magazines used for print advertisement content analysis vary and the content analysis categories themselves vary. For example: Venkatesan and Losoc (1975) include a "themes" category, others do not; Gagnard (1986) uses Woman's Day, others do not; England and Gardner (1983) use Vogue, and others do not.

A procedural problem, often not recognized, is the use of pen and pencil self-report data collection instruments. This is of particular concern with young children and is also an issue if there is unfamiliarity with self-report scales. Evidence indicates that one-on-one personal interviews, or telephone interviews when appropriate, improve the quality of the data (Herzog and Rodgers 1987) their use also increases the cost.

Other serious problems are the lack of interjudge reliability measures, the lack of information on raters, and the lack of data analysis beyond frequencies and univariate statistics. As Rubin (1982) notes, with respect to television research and aging however also applicable to race and gender research, "it would be prudent to question the continued reliance on univariate procedures inasmuch as television use is an interactive

communication behavior which requires multivariate statistical procedures..."

The most serious and most difficult to solve problems are those of concept and theory. There is an assumption that advertising is negative and has negative effeacts on behavior and attitudes and that stereotypes are negative and also have negative effect on behavior and attitudes. For example: Downs and Harrison (1983), Itzin (1986), Rubinstein (1985). Empirical evidence suggests otherwise. Passuth and Cook's (1985) re-analysis of the Gerbner et. al. (1980) stereotypes data demonstrates that "television does not appear to be a major contributor to the development of (negative) knowledge and attitudes about older adults" (p. 75) and Gagnard (1986) concludes that "(magazine) advertising in the past decade has mirrored rather than created society's physical ideals" (p. R46).

There is an assumption that the audience is a homogeneous group, devoid of economic, psychological, social and physical differences and the responses to advertising portrayals, therefore, are also assumed to be homogeneous. Exceptions are Darden and Bayton (1977) using self-concept as a moderating variable, Snyder and DeBono (1985) using self-monitoring as a moderating variable and Duker and Tucker (1977) using profeminist opinions as a moderating variable.

Hypotheses tested are not based on rigorous conceptual foundations and frequently, when correlational statistics are used for support, a particular variable could be independent just as easily as dependent. The "creator" versus the "reflector" argument, with respect to advertising's influence on values and behavior, is illustrative of this problem. (See Belk and Pollay, 1986 and 1988 for an extended discussion of this issue.)

The final problem is the lack of consideration of contextual and situational factors in the majority of studies. Media are used for a variety of purposes by audience members and media fulfill a variety of needs for audience members. It is reasonable and desirable

to test the assumption that effects of advertising portrayals are mediated by the need the medium is fulfilling or its reason for use. For example: media are used for substantiation of other sources of information and for substitution of other sources of information. These differences most likely affect responses.

To summarize: In the first section of this paper, gender portrayal research was reviewed and summarized. In this section of the paper, the definitional, procedural, analytical and conceptual problems were identified and briefly discussed. In the final section of this paper, using the previous two sections as a base on which to build, suggestions for future directions are presented and explored.

Future Directions

Future directions, suggested by the problems identified in the previous section are relatively easy to visualize. For example: if generalizable results are desired, then student samples and static group samples should not be used; if comparative results are desired, then consistent, adequate definitions of variables, sources and content analysis categories are necessary; if content analysis is to be a significant research technique, then validity and reliability measures are essential components of every study. These are, perhaps, the easier directions to propose.

More specific directions suggested by the literature and research include answers to the following questions: What needs are filled by mass media advertising? For what is mass media advertising used? Are stereotypes appropriate for this use? If stereotypes "cause" negative attitudes toward a brand, do the attitudes affect purchasing behavior and/or consumer behavior generally? Do attitudes toward an advertisement = attitudes toward a product and/or a company? Is time a moderating variable in the advertisement-behavior linkages? If not, are other variables performing this function?

A third set of directions are addressed to the advertising industry itself and are motivated by the apparent lack of definitive and demonstrated positive changes in gender role portrayals and the apparent lack of industry presence in the research. Does the industry monitor itself? Is it concerned with stereotyped portrayals? Are stereotyped portrayals perceived as negative by the industry or are they a necessary technique in the creation of advertisements? Do stereotyped groups have access to the media? Are portrayed groups asked if they consider their portrayals negatively stereotyped?

The final directions, evolving from conceptual problems are utimately related to each other and require elaboration. There is a need to move beyond exploratory and cross-sectional descriptive research designs; their usefulness has been exhausted. Longitudinal and causal studies, (see e.g., Churchill and Moschis 1979; Eisenstock 1984; Kilbourne 1986; Moschis and Churchill 1978; Moschis and Moore 1982), particularly studies to demonstrate a relationship between advertising role portrayals and attitudes toward consumption and consumption behavior, are essential. Ethnographic case studies, rarely used in advertising research, could trace and compare changes among cultures trying to adapt to the introduction of American consumption patterns. (See Pollay 1988 for a fuller discussion of this idea.) Cross-cultural studies, also borrowing anthropological approaches and techniques, could investigate cultures in different stages of advertising pervasiveness and sophistication, and would provide insight into possible advertising influences on attitudes and behavior.

The most significant, most important, most problematic and most controversial direction is to establish, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that advertising <u>does</u> <u>have</u> an influence on its audiences' behavior and attitudes. The influence of advertising has been and continues to be speculative, for despite statements to the contrary, the effects are

assumed. It seems fruitless to investigate the effects of advertising stereotypes, without first demonstrating that advertising stereotypes have an effect. The answers to specific questions, (such as: What is the effect of advertising stereotypes on those who are stereotyped? What is the effect of advertising stereotypes on audience perception of members of the stereotyped groups? What is the effect of advertising stereotypes on the formation and/or perpetuation of stereotypes? What is the effect on audience perception if the stereotype is changed?) are a direct consequence of the answer to the more general question: What is the influence of advertising on the audience?

To summarize: the presence of advertising stereotypes has been more than adequately demonstrated regardless of the myriad problems associated with this category of research. It is time to move on to the question of "effects" despite the difficulties likely to be encountered; it is time for the research to mature.

References

Bandura, Albert (1969), "A Social Learning Theory of Identificstory Process," Handbook of Socialization Theory and Research, National Research Council, 213-262.

Baumrind, Diana (1980), "New Directions in Socialization Theory and Research," American Psychologist, (July), 639-654.

Belk, Russell W. and Richard W. Pollay (1985), "Images of Ourselves: The Good Life in Twentieth Century Advertising," Journal of Consumer Research, 11 (4) (March), 887-897.

Belkoui, Ahmed and Janice Belkoui (1976), "A Comparative Analysis of the Roles Portrayed by Women in Print Advertising: 1958, 1970, 1972," Journal of Marketing Research, (May), 168-172.

Churchill, Gilbert A. and George P. Moschis (1979), "Television and Interpersonal Influences on Adolescent Consumer Learning," Journal of Consumer Research, 6 (1)(June), 23-35.

Comstock, George (1975), "Effects of Television on Children: What Is The Evidence?" Paper presented at the 1975 Tele-Communications Policy Research Conference at Arlie House, Arlie, Virginia.

Comstock, George (1980), Television in America, Sage Commtext Series, Beverly Hills, CA.

Comstock, George and Marilyn Fisher (1975), "Television and Human Behavior: A Guide to the Pertinent Scientific Literature, Rand Corporation, Santa Monica, CA.

Czepiec, Helena and J. Steven Kelly, (1983), "Analyzing Hispanic Roles in Advertising: A Portrait of an Emerging Subculture," Current Issues and Research in Advertising, 219-240.

Darden, Betty J. and James A. Bayton (1977), "Self-Concept and Blacks Assessment of Black Leading Role in Motion Pictures and Television," Journal of Applied Psychology, 62 (5), 620-623.

Dimas, Charles (1970), "The Effect of Motion Pictures Portraying Black Models on the Self-Concept of Black Elementary School Children," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Syracuse University.

Downs, A. Chris and Sheila K. Harrison (1983), "Physical Attractiveness Stereotyping on American Television Programs: A Content Analysis," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Western Psychological Association, San Francisco.

Duker, Jacob M. and Lewis R. Tucker, Jr. (1977), "'Women's Lib-ers' vs. Independent Women: A Study of Preferences for Women's Roles in Advertisements," Journal of Marketing Research, XIV (November), 469-475.

Eisenstock, Barbara (1984), "Sex Role Differences in Children's Identification with Counter Stereotypical Television Portrayals," Sex Roles, 10 (5,6), 417-430.

England, Paula and Teresa Gardner (1983), "Sex Differentiation in Magazine Advertisements: A Content Analysis Using Log-Linear Modeling," Current Issues and Research in Advertising, 253-268.

Filimer, H. Thompson (1984), "Children's Descriptions of and Attitudes Towards the Elderly," Educational Gerontology, 10, 99-107.

Gagnard, Alice (1986), "From Feast to Famine: Depiction of Ideal Body Type in Magazine Advertising: 1950-1984," American Academy of Advertising Proceedings, R46-R49.

Gebhardt, Randall E. and James D. Harless (1986), "Television News and Sexist Language: A Study of Television News Effects," Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, Norman, OK.

Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Nancy Signorielli (1980), "Aging with Television: Images in Television Drama and Conceptions of Social Reality," Journal of Communications, 30, 37-47.

Gerbner, George and Nancy Signorielli (1979), "Women and Minorities in Television Drama 1969-1978," Annenberg School of Communications, University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA.

Herzog, A. Regula and Willard L. Rodgers (1987), "Interviewing Older Adults," Public Opinion Quarterly, 52, 84-99.

Hollingshead, Carol and Berit Ingersoll (1978), "Older Women: A Study of Print Advetisements," Paper presented at the 31st Annual Meeting of the Gerontological Society, Dallas (November).

Izzin, Catherine (1986), "Media Image of Women: The Social Construction of Ageism and Sexism," Feminist Social Psychology: Developing Theory and Practice, Sue Wilkinson, ed., Open University Press, 119-134.

Kassarjian, Harold H. (1977), "Content Analysis in Consumer Research," Journal of Consumer Research, 4 (June) 8-18.

Kilbourne, William E. (1986), "An Exploratory Study of the Effects of Sex Role Stereotyping on Attitudes Toward Magazine Advertisements," Journal of the Acadmey of Marketing Science, 14 (4), 43-46.

Kolbe, Richard H. (1988), "Bem-Sex-Role Inventory Analysis of Children's Television Commercials," American Marketing Association Educator's Conference Proceedings.

Korzenny, Felipe and Kimberly Neuendorf (1979), "TV and The Aging: Exposure, Functions, Perceptions and Self Concept," paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Association for Public Opinion Research, Buck Hill Falls, PA, (May-June).

Langmeyer, Lynn (1984), "Senior Citizens and Television Advertisements: A Research Note," Current Issues and Research in Advertising, 167-178.

Levinson, Richard M. (1973), "From Olive Oyl to Sweet Polly Purebread: Sex Role Stereotypes and Televised Cartoons," Journal of Popular Culture, (9), 561-572.

Lundstrom, William J. and Donald Sciglimpaglia (1977), "Sex Role Portrayals in Advertising," Journal of Marketing, (July), 72-79.

Lysonski, Steven (1983), "Female and Male Portrayals in Magazine Advertisements," Akron Business and Economic Review, (Summer), 45-50.

Macklin, M. Carole and Richard H. Kolbe (1984), "Sex Role Stereotyping in Children's Advertising: Current and Past Trends," Journal of Advertising, 13 (2), 34-42.

Matacin, Mala L. and Jerry M. Burger (1987), "A Content Analysis of Sexual Themes in Playboy Cartoons," Sex Roles, 17 (3/4), 179-186.

McArthur, Leslie Z. and Beth Resko (1975), "The Portrayal of Men and Women in American Television Commercials," Journal of Social Psychology, (97), 209-220.

Mori, DeAnna, Shelly Chaiken and Patricia Pliner (1987), "'Eating Lightly' and the Self-Presentation of Femininity," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53 (4), 693-702.

Moschis, George P. and Gilbert A. Churchill, Jr. (1978), "Consumer Socialization: A Theoretical and Emperical Analysis," Journal of Marketing Research, XV (November), 599-609.

Moschis, George P. and Roy L. Moore (1982), "A Longitudinal Study of Television Advertising Effects," Journal of Consumer Research, 9 (3), 279-286.

Pollay, Richard W. (1986), "Quality of Life In the Padded Sell: Common Criticisms of Advertising's Cultural Character and international Public Policies," Current Issues and Research in Advertising, 173-250.

Qualls, William J. (1987), "A Theoretical Investigation of the Impact of Race in Advertising," Unpublished manuscript, (August).

Reid, Pamela Trotman (1979), "Racial Stereotyping on Television: A Comparision of the Behavior of Both Black and White Television Characters," Journal of Applied Psychology, 64(5), 465-571.

Roberts, Donald F. and Christine M. Bachen (1981), "Mass Communication Effects," in Annual Review of Psychology, 307-356.

Rubin, Alan M. (1982), "Directions in Television and Aging Research," Journal of Broadcasting, 26(2)(Spring), 537-551.

Rubinstein, Eli A. (1985), "What Can We Do About TV's Effects on Children," Social Science News Letter, (Spring), 43-46.

Scheibe, Cyndy (1979), "Sex Roles in T.V. Commercials," Journal of Advertising Research, (February) 19, 1, 23-37.

Schmitt, Bernard H., France LeClerc and Laurette Dube-Rioux, "Sex Typing and Consumer Behavior: A Test of Gender Schema Theory," Journal of Consumer Research, 15(June), 122-128.

Schneider, Kenneth C. and Sharon Barick Schneider (1979), "Trends in Sex Roles in Television Commercials," Journal of Marketing, 43(Summer), 70-84.

Sciglimpagli A. Donald, William Lundstrom and Dinoo J. Vanier (1979), "Women's Feminine Role Orientation and Their Attitudes Toward Sex Role Portrayals in Advertising," Current Issues and Research In Advertising, 163-175.

Seiter, Ellen (1986), "Stereotypes and The Media: A Re-evaluation," Journal of Communication, (Spring), 14-26.

Silverman-Watkins Theresa L., Stephen C. Levi and Meryl A. Klein (1986), "Sex Stereotyping As a Factor in Children's Comprehension of Television News," Journalism Quarterly, (Spring), 3-11.

Snyder, Mark and Kenneth G. DeBono (1985), "Appeals to Images and Claims About Quality: Understanding the Psychology of Advertising," Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 49(3), 586-597.

Soley, Lawrence and Gary Kurzbard (1986), "Sex in Advertising: A Comparison of 1964 and 1984 Magazine Advertisements," Journal of Advertising, 15(3), 46-54.

Sternglanz, Sarah H. and Lisa Serbin (1974), "Sex Role Stereotyping in Children' Television Programs," Developmental Psychology, (10)(5), 710-715.

Venkatesan, M. and Jean Losco (1975), "Women in Magazine Ads: 1959-71," Journal of Advertising Research, (October) (15)(5), 49-54.

Whipple, Thomas W. and Alice E. Courtney (1985), "Female Role Portrayals in Advertising and Communication Effectiveness: A Review," Journal of Advertising, 14(3), 4-8.